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LETTER
TO THE
PEOPLE
OF
GREAT BRITAIN
AND
IRELAND,
OF
EVERY DENOMINATION:

ON MATTERS of the utmost Importance
to them all, in this critical and dangerous
CRISIS.

Impartially Address'd to all Parties and Classes.

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L E T T E R
T O T H E
P E O P L E
O F
Great Britain and Ireland, &c.

Fellow-Subjects and Protestants,

FTER the many excellent Performances in this Way, occasion'd by the present detestable Rebellion, this Address may perhaps seem a Piece of conceited Arrogance, or an unnecessary Labour. But in this Time of Danger so imminent, when whatever is dear to us, whatever we esteem Sacred, is threaten'd, can any *British* Arm, can any *British* Pen rest dormant and unexerted! If the Privileges and Enjoyments, peculiar to the insulted Constitution of our native Country, are equal (and certainly they must be acknowledged far superior) to those which the *Athenian* Polity put its Members in Possession of,

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we are surely under strong Obligations to express that Jealousy and Indignation at every Affront to, or Breach of, its minutest Circumstances, which was the noted, the universally applauded Characteristic of a true *Atbenian*. Animated by this Principle, I shall proceed to demonstrate the Truth of three or four preliminary Assertions, and then Address myself to the distinct Parties of this Nation.

The first Thing I intend to prove, is, that should the Person who pretends a Title to the Crown of *Great Britain*, by the Treachery of those whom the seductive Insinuations of Jesuitical Principles may have render'd his Friends in this Island, and by the powerful Assistance of our avowed Enemies abroad, ever proceed so far, as to expel our only rightful Sovereign from his *British* Dominions, a long and fatal Series of intestine Wars must necessarily ensue; each Party being encourag'd to proceed to the most desperate Extremities, by those foreign Powers who would interpose, according to their several Interests; the Tendency of which would be to render this happy Island the gloomy Scene of Slaughter, Rapine, and Violence! To level our stately Edifices! To consume the splendid Monuments of *British* Glory, Military, Naval, and Literary; in a Word, with Famine, Fire, and Sword, to divest our Country of its Inhabitants, and whatever is ornamental or beneficial to it. Certain it is, that all Protestant Powers, if they act consistently with their Principles, must desire and endeavour the Continuation of our present Government, and are by solemn Stipulations, and the strongest Sanctions of Interest, engag'd to defend, with numerous Auxiliaries, the Rights of our illustrious Sovereign, who is personally related to the most potent Protestant Princes.

And had the Security of our holy Religion no Influence, there are many European Powers, both
Protestant

Protestant and Papist, whose political Interests must induce them to maintain him in the Possession of these his Dominions ; and in Fact several Princes have already given public Indications, of the Uneasiness and Concern with which they receiv'd the Alarms that follow'd this Invasion of our Country ; who, unless our Disturbances meet with a speedy Composure, will assist us in driving this execrable Rout of Banditti out of the Nation. On the other Hand, those who have so liberally bestow'd these Lands on a Pretender, would not fail to give him all the Assistance their Circumstances would permit ; and every *Briton* must unite himself to one of the Parties, or else act a Part much more base, by suffering that which he judges the Interest of his Country to be hazarded for Want of his Assistance, and cowardly waiting for the Event, to join himself at last to the victorious Party.

And who but a very *Caligula* or *Nero* can contemplate such a deplorable Scene, without the dampest Horror, when vast Bodies of Troops of different Nations, must infest this our Country, each speaking a Jargon unintelligible to most of our own Natives, as well as to those Auxiliary Forces of either Party, which would be sent by other foreign Powers, and these Forces all unconcern'd for the real Good of the Nation, and having no other Views than the Execution of their respective Masters Command, and the enriching themselves with Plunder ; when many of the industrious and provident Subjects of *Great Britain* must be reduc'd to the utmost Distress ; while a confused Multitude of Foreigners devour that which the Fertility of our Country produces ; when our grand and shining Structures both Public and private, must sink under one wide raging Conflagration, or by a worse Abuse become the Possession of violent and insatiate Foreigners ; when Rich and Poor must
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fall a general Sacrifice to the impetuous Fury of the War, or the severer and more intolerable Cruelties of enraged Victors; when, in a Word, the whole Constitution of our Country, all the Securities we have for the Enjoyment of whatever is the Privilege of a Man, a *Briton*, a Christian, shall at one Shock be subverted, and trampled under the Feet of that grand Monarch, whose only Aim in advancing a Pretender to the Crown, is, to gain a securer Opportunity of giving Laws to *Europe*, and in Time to accomplish his long projected Schemes of an universal Empire.

And when Affairs are once in such a Posture, who knows where the Torrent of War will stop? Will this Century put a Period to our Confusions, or may they not be prolong'd with equal, yea, increasing Animosities, for many future Ages? In this Concussion of our State, some strange Revolution may perhaps take Place, or some foreign Power may conquer and annex these Islands, as subordinate Provinces, to his own Dominions: Or should it appear too great an Addition to one Sovereign, it may be divided amongst a Number of Princes, whence in Time may proceed a second Heptarchy, equal in Ignorance, Superstition, and savage Barbarity to the former.

Be attentive then, Oh *Britons*! often have you felt the rueful Calamities of intestine Commotions; think whether those Miseries, aggravated and heighten'd by new Circumstances of Distress, are so trivial, as to be hazarded in Behalf of a Person whose Pretences are as glaringly false, as they would be insufficient to procure his Admission to this Throne, were they evidently true.

In the next Place, let every Lover of the *British* Constitution reflect, that were the Chevalier once quietly seated on the Throne of this Nation, besides the Ocean of Blood, of *English* Blood, which must

must be shed previous to such a Turn. Those who have Estates must surrender them, and the Possessions of the inferior Ranks of People would become a Prey to the rapacious Greediness of the plundering *French* and *Higblanders*. All our Nobility that have given the least Indication of Loyalty to their lawful Sovereign will then be attainted as infamous Traitors, whose Estates will soon be confiscated, and given to those Persons of desperate Fortunes, whose highest Hopes are placed in the Subversion of their Country, and the Intrusion of themselves into the forfeited Possessions and Offices of our Grandees and Magistrates. All Places of Trust, Honour, and Profit, will be conferr'd on the imperious *French*, the rustic Heads of Clans, and the deceitful *Irish*; to which Mixture a few supercilious *Spanish* Dons may perhaps be added. But the Name of an *Englishman* must sink into Contempt, and become the exploded Subject of every Foreigner's Scorn. Nor must the *Scotch* or *Irish* Protestants expect a better Fate, but tamely give up their Persons and Substances to the sportive Caprice and insatiate Avarice of those, whose Recommendation it will then be, constantly to have adher'd to the Fortune of one, whose Title to the *British* Crown was so fair, that perfidious *France* herself ever stedfastly profess'd to believe his Right, when she had political Reasons to foment Insurrections in *Great Britain*. Our Merchants, our Traders, and Persons of less Note, might not perhaps be thought of Consequence enough to be brought to a Trial, but all their Effects might probably be distributed with profuse Liberality to the more indigent Monsieurs, and inferior *Higblanders*. Thus is all we have, thus is all we are in Hopes of, to be distributed, whilst the Owners are to be scar'd from clamouring with threats of Military Execution. Add to this, that the new Conquest
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of *Cape Breton*, and perhaps all *Newfoundland*, must be immediately given up to the *French*; and *Gibraltar*, and *Port Mahone*, and perhaps a great Part of our *American* Plantations, must be alienated from the *British* to the *Spanish* Crown. And in Return for the many Favours receiv'd from the See of *Rome*, besides the Restoration of Church-lands, our then Catholic Monarch may make his Holiness a Present of a considerable Tax on all Estates, for a Number of Years, which his Popish Subjects would not, and his Protestant Subjects, if any such were left, must not refuse.

These are the hopeful, these the ravishing Prospects, with which the Chevalerian Patriots seem intoxicated! Some, I know, assert that he has given his Word, his Honour, to maintain his Subjects in all their present Privileges; but shall I then depend on even the Oath of one, who has so many Precedents for Falsification, which he esteems just and imitable; of one, who believes, as an Article of Faith, that an Oath given to an Heretic, is no Ways Obligatory? But is it not his Interest, others perhaps will reply, never to violate the Liberties of his Subjects; and has he not Examples enough to convince him, how contrary such a Conduct would be to his Interest? I answer, If it is his Interest to be King of *England*, it is equally his Interest to take such Methods of chastising and keeping humble his Protestant and long rebellious Subjects. And tho' he should be averse to such Methods, yet if he did not put them in Practice, those who had advanc'd him to all his Dignity, would probably resolve to let him know the dread Effects of their Displeasure; whence perhaps we might meet with a new and more exquisite Species of Tyranny, than any yet invented. And where would this Confusion end? ——— We see his Interest then, and can we doubt how he would

would act? But if we cannot credit this plain Thread of Reasoning, let us review his Actions, since his entering *England*, and we shall find them to be Beginnings consonant to what we may expect, from the most despotic Exertion of an Arbitrary Power, when unlimited, uncontroll'd, and securely establish'd.

Again, I think I may justly assert, that had the Chevalier once attain'd his present Desires, were he once entron'd in the Metropolis of this Kingdom, notwithstanding all the specious Promises he has ever made to delude the Vulgar, notwithstanding all the Reports which *Jesuits* industriously spread about in his Favour, we should soon see the obscure Mysteries of Popery reinstated in all the foppish Grandeur and formal Ecclesiastic Pride, with which they now domineer Abroad. All the antic Gaiety of sacerdotal Vestments, Crucifixes, and the venerable Host would continually fill our Streets; Bulls, Dispensations, Indulgences, Pardons, Penances, Pilgrimages, would be common Topics of Discourse; the Court of *Rome* would once more boast of *England's* passive Obedience, whence vast Sums would be annually exported, as Tribute to the Sacred Vicar of Christ; soon should we see the Court of Reverend Judges erected, and all the nice and curious Formalities of a solemn and judiciary Death practis'd upon the stubborn Protestant; or perhaps the more dispatching Method of an *Irish* or *Parisian* Massacre would be approv'd of at first, by which the commiserating Tenderness of their paternal Care might dispatch two or three hundred thousand Souls (imaginarily) to Hell, after having enur'd their Bodies to the keenest Tortures here; and as *Englishmen* may be judg'd deeply rooted in Heresy, they may perhaps do our Nation the Honour of establishing an Inquisition here, which may have the Sovereign and uncon-

troll'd Power of summoning any Person to its dread Tribunal, of torturing them by all possible Means, till they confess themselves guilty of whatever is laid to their Charge, and whatever is there interpreted criminal, of confiscating their Estates, of sentencing them to whatever agonizing Tortures or Death they please : In a Word, of disposing of their Lives, Persons, and Fortunes in whatever Manner they think fit, without being oblig'd to give an Account of their Proceedings ! Such will be their Precautions, lest any Person of a Judgment sounder than common, aided by diligent Examination and convenient Opportunities of Enquiry, should be expos'd to the deluding Querks and Subtilties of Heretics.

But it has been with an uncommon Share of Impudence asserted, *That the Chevalier is a Protestant*. His Actions have now sufficiently prov'd this to be false ; and had they not, we had a moral Certainty of the contrary ; for would *Rome*, which doth not usually bestow Favours without some Reason, have caress'd a Protestant in such a Manner ; would he, were he not a Catholic, be thus esteem'd by the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, and the *Romish* Clergy of all Countries ? Would his Coming be so earnestly desir'd by all of the Catholic Profession here, who extol him as the Defender of their Faith ? Farther, who educated him a Protestant ? Not his Father, who believes that all of that Profession must be damn'd ; not those about him, who were all averse to the Protestant Religion ; and had he imbib'd any heretical Opinions (a Thing very difficult in *Italy*) he must have renounc'd them, or else have been deserted by the Pope and every Popish Prince ; and sure none will pretend that the Pope and those Princes could be ignorant of this Inclination to Protestantism, if there were any such.

But

But supposing him a Papist, say they, he is of too mild a Temper, to use any Violence on the Consciences of his Subjects. Be his Temper the mildest imaginable, yet, if he has any Sense of his Duty as a Catholic, he must execute the Decrees of the Church. And we have had a flagrant Instance of the Power of that bloody Profession over the Minds of its Votaries, in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, that Disgrace to her Sex and Country : For as we have no Reason to imagine, that she was destitute of the Tenderness natural to her Sex, we must attribute the fiery Tragedies of her Reign to the savage Genius of her Religion.

But he knows his Interest in this Case. And did not King *James II.* both before his Coronation and after his Abdication, when in *Ireland*? And did not he make the most solemn Promises to protect the Protestants in all their Liberties? But how he perform'd them, I need not relate.

Let all then, of every Rank and Condition, who have any Regard for the Protestant Religion, for Liberty of Conscience, the dearest Privilege of human Nature, give no Credit to any Jesuitical Insinuations ; but considering the ever deplorable Effects of the Establishment of Popery here, the pungent Tortures of Racks, Wheels, Stakes, and whatever else is abhorrent to Humanity, which the cruel Consultations of human and diabolical Malice may have invented, sympathizing with the unhappy Sufferers for the Sake of Religion in any Part of the World, and representing to your own Minds, the Schrieks and dying Groans, the unspeakable Anguish and Heart-breaking Pangs of those unhappy Creatures, who dreadfully suffer by unknown and hellish Tortures in the Savage and inhuman Inquisition, and reflecting upon the many other Evils consequent on Popery (too many to enumerate, and too grievous, one would think, to

be suffer'd by any People, that is not sunk into the utmost Abjectness of Spirit) stedfastly defend your Liberties, in Opposition to every one that shall dare to attack them, whatever may be his Pretence. Look back on the manly Fortitude of your renown'd Ancestors, who have transmitted your Religion and Liberties down to you, in spite of all the Efforts of Men and Devils. Consider what an indelible Ignominy it must spread over your Memories, if thro' your supine Negligence, your Posterity should be depriv'd of a Blessing so inestimable, as Liberty of Conscience. Defy then the most terrifying Forms of Death, and dare to be Men, to show yourselves sensible of the Blessings of Christianity, whatever Danger you may thereby incur: If you don't, you can expect little rational Comfort in this Life, and will be sure to meet with the severest Sentence at the approaching awful Tribunal of God's impartial Judgment.

Lastly, to compleat the glorious Scene, consequent on the Pretender's succeeding in his Designs, let us enquire, who is to be the real Sovereign in *Great Britain*, if he should ever be own'd King of *England* by the whole Nation; and this can be no other than that most Christian King, who is equally ready to help *Turks, Jews, or Pagans*, whenever he can promote his own Interest by such a Conduct. Whatever Title the Pretender may claim to the Kingdom of *England*, he would, pursuant to the Injunctions and Example of his great Master, enter on the Government of it, with all the Haughtiness of a victorious Invader, to whose despotic Rule all the Natives of this Land must submit themselves, with servile Awe and passive Resignation. The first Compliment he would receive, must be the investing him with a Power superior to all Laws, enacted by whatever Authority: For it is certain, that whilst the Fundamentals of
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our present admir'd and envied Constitution remain unsubverted, he cannot be admitted to this Throne. By the Assistance of his affectionate Preceptor, the *French* King, he may by an Edict declare, that Parliaments are useless, and inconsistent with the Nations Interest. He may then easily claim a Power of enacting whatever Laws he pleases; nominating all Officers, regulating all Taxes, and declaring on what Terms People of all Ranks will be esteem'd his good and Loyal Subjects. Nor will this Task be too operose or difficult for him, when he has receiv'd two or three Auxiliary Bands of able Ministers from the *French* Seminaries of Politicians. Couriers may then set out daily from each of the confederate Courts; and the King of *France* will find easy Methods to have his Will signify'd to his Royal Substitute in *Great Britain*, who must be as ready to receive as the Former to give his sovereign Advice: For he will doubtless esteem the *French* to be the best Politicians in *Europe*, who are able to produce such sudden Revolutions in Kingdoms, and harrafs all their Neighbours, as often as they have any Prospect of gaining by such a Conduct; nor will he have any Occasion to fear, while he is thus ready to execute every Command, that they should turn the Keeness of their Wits, to invent a Method of disturbing him in the Possession of his Dominions, till they can find a Pretence to invest their own Sovereign with a Right to them, which however he'll presume they cannot with any Show of Justice do.

But some of his Friends have very positively asserted, *That as he is not by Nature a Subject to the King of France, when he arrives at this high Power, he'll consult nothing farther than his own Royal Pleasure, and the good of his People.* But will he then be so ungrateful, after the numerous and unmerited Favours of *France*, after having
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been advanc'd to even regal Power by its Assistance ; will he ungenerously refuse any Return, which she can desire, and he be able to grant, which may be of little Importance to him, whether granted or deny'd, tho' it may be highly serviceable to *France*, and entirely subversive of the Remains of *England's* Happiness ? Or will he have the Confidence to dare to deny any thing to that Power, to which he owes all he enjoys ? Will he neglect any Opportunity of gratifying him, whom he'll know to have a Power to dethrone him at Pleasure, and confer his Dominions on another Person, or by some pretended Claim to appropriate them to himself ? Are we ignorant who rul'd in *England*, during the nominal Supremacy of *Charles II.* or whence the short but absolute Tyranny of *James II.* of ever odious Memory, proceeded ? And hath not he much greater, much more prevalent Motives, to show himself the very humble Servant and obedient Executor of the Decrees of the *French* Monarch, than either *Charles* or *James II.* had ? In what a Posture should we then be, when the Pope would be Supreme in Things Spiritual, and have a Power to confiscate our Estates and execute us publicly by the worst of Death, as Heretics ; when the *French* King would Sway here absolutely, in Temporals, and promote his own trusty Friends to the highest Honours and Offices, whilst our own nominal and insignificant King must suffer himself thus to be made a Tool of, in order to procure himself a sumptuous Table, a splendid Equipage, and the first Place at Assemblies of Pleasure ; who, to satiate and gorge himself with all the Delights of Sense, must rack his Subjects with excessive Taxes, besides what his avaritious Friends would exact ? In what a Posture must we then be, when an *Englishman* would be deem'd by Nature a Slave of so many Arbitrary Powers, and be depriv'd of every Opportunity to
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gain his pristine Liberty, must drag on a miserable Life in a Servitude worse than that of a conquer'd captivated People? *Μηποτε, Μηποτε* — *ταυδε Δυλοσυ-
πνελανη* ——— Rouze yourselves then, O Sons of *Britain*, from your Lethargic Stupidity! Reflect on the inestimable Worth of your human, *British*, Christian Privilege; move on undaunted and with that Valour which is hereditary to you from your brave Ancestors! Expel out of your bleeding native Country its insulting Invaders; demonstrate that not the utmost Horrors of Death can shake your Resolution, but that when you fight for your Liberty you carry Souls invincible by all its Terrors!

And now presuming these four Points are evident to a Demonstration, I shall address the distinct Parties of this Nation as if they were personally present. And, first, to the disaffected Papists——In what Light can this Revolution appear favourable to you, Gentlemen? It will establish the Catholic Religion here. But what real Advantage will that be of to you? Not any Temporal; rather the Generality of Papists would be much detrimented in this Point: For besides the Sums of Money, which would be annually extorted from every Member of the Catholic Church; besides the Expence of maintaining such numerous swarms of Clericks of so many Orders and Distinctions; besides all this, I say, which in Popish Countries is known to be a Burthen very heavy, those Papists who have now large Estates, must resign all such Parts of them as ever were consecrated Ground, and all those of a meaner Rank, who have any Concerns with Protestants, would probably suffer a general Loss in the Hubbub of Attainders, Confiscations, and Executions of such Protestants. But, in reality, can you propose even any spiritual Advantage by such a Change? Are you not at present indulg'd in the uncontroll'd
Exercise

Exercise of your Religion? Have any Laws been put in Execution against any Practice merely religious and no way tending to *Treason*? You are not indeed permitted to bring Bulls from *Rome*, excommunicating and deposing your lawful Sovereigns, nor, in Times so dangerous to the Protestant Religion as this, perhaps, to celebrate your Mass. But can you reasonably desire a Liberty, which the whole Nation must interpret subversive of its own? Can you expect the Privilege of carrying your Host in solemn Procession thro' our Streets, or of building Monasteries and Abbies, in a rude Defiance to the Sentiments of the Nation? In Things not thus offensive and pernicious, you have been permitted to dispose of your Money according to your Pleasure. In your own Houses you have been permitted to keep and venerate whatever Relicks of your Saints you could procure. — But you have not indeed the Liberty to fix up your Saints in the middle of our Streets. And would you have acted thus, if you had been permitted, in an indecent Contradiction to all your Neighbours? And sure the Opportunities you have had are sufficient for your eternal Salvation. Your Priests themselves must confess this; since they will allow, that there have been many good Men in this Island, since the Reformation, who, they imagine, will eternally enjoy the highest Happiness: And what can you desire more? — You may perhaps think, that the Reformation of the many Heretics in this Kingdom is a Thing worthy your most earnest Endeavours. But do you think that can be effected by such an Event? Have we, do you imagine, so little Value for our Religion, as to change it upon every Alteration of our Governors? Many of us perhaps might dissemble; but where would be the Conversion? Is it a Thing really meritorious of Heaven, not to dare to profess, but

but flatly to deny what we believe the most solemn Truth in Nature, in the Presence of God, Men, and Angels, through an Apprehension of exquisite Tortures, or instant Death? But certainly great Numbers among us would not meanly dissemble their real Belief; and how shocking to human Nature must the Massacres and Executions among us then be? Will you say, it's real Kindness which prompts you to such cruel Treatment of Protestants; what are the happy Effects of such Kindness? What doth the Person thus executed, or rather butcher'd, gain by the Loss of his Life? Will his Sufferings atone for the Pravity of his Heretical Opinions, and render him fitter for Heaven? No: The only Good proposed is, to strike a Terror into others, and persuade them to profess the Catholic Religion: And is it then possible that a solemn Lie should render the Persons thus persuaded, the Favourites of that God whose Veracity the Christian Religion has so abundantly display'd?

This Establishment then of the Catholic Religion must be prejudicial to your temporal Concern, cannot advance your spiritual Interest, and would probably be preventive of the Conversion of Hereticks; for it is a general Observation, that a People persecuted for the Sake of Religion conceive a fix'd Aversion to that Profession which inspires with Sentiments so inhuman and savage. So that all the Inducement you can have to incline you to promote the Pretender's Interest is, the discharging your Conscience of all its Obligations to advance the Splendor and Power of the visible Church. But is such a Procedure necessary to your Salvation? If it were, why did not the Apostles and primitive Fathers inculcate and act upon such Principles? You may, perhaps, be ignorant of their Doctrine; but if you have any Acquaintance
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with genuine History, you must know that they acted on widely different Principles ; that they ever passively obey'd the most cruel *Roman* Princes, and never made Use of any Arms, or form'd any Plots against their respective Sovereigns, under the Pretence of the Church's Interest, or to augment the Number of its Converts. And can you imagine, that those Persons, to whom, in the Offices of your Church, you pay so high a Veneration, are really excluded themselves from Bliss ? If they are undoubtedly happy, why may not you arrive at the same Bliss, without ever engaging yourselves in one Rebellion against your lawful, though Heretical, Prince ? And can you then think this promoting the Church's Interest, a Thing by your own Confession not necessary to Salvation, so important as to be attempted in a Manner so contrary to all human and generous Sentiments ; even though no Danger attended the failing in the Execution of your Plots ; especially if you consider, that the highest Success you can have will be greatly prejudicial to your temporal Interest ?

But if no other Motive can sway you, consider that there is no Probability of the Chevalier's succeeding in his insolent Attempt ; that if all his Friends were able to join him, the rest of the Nation is in general so irritated against him, that they would destroy him by whatever Method they could. And if, after having enter'd into a Plot so execrable, you should fail of Success, what one pretended Plea could you have left, to excuse yourselves from that capital Punishment, which is, by our Laws, the deserved Consequence of your Treason ? Have you not Reason to expect the most rigorous Vengeance which an enraged victorious Monarch, whose Mercies have long been spurn'd at and insulted, can inflict ? Will not all your Posterity feel the Disadvantages of such an Attempt ?

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Will not the Rich forfeit their Estates, and the Poorer be for the future kept so low, as that they may never more be capable of making a Disturbance? In a Word, It may prove destructive to yourselves, your Posterity, and what you imagine the Good of your Church: For is it not to be expected, that on a serious Review of such horrid and infamous Machinations every impartial Person must think with Horror on the Authors of them? May not such Practices alienate great Numbers, of *Englishmen* especially, from your Communion; and inform Catholic Monarchs themselves, whence that Religion must proceed, which excites its Votaries to such detestable Treasons against their rightful Princes? If none of these Arguments can influence you, not Gratitude to him who has protected you in the Enjoyment of every Liberty you can justly claim, not Affection to your Families or Countries, not Self-Interest, not any human Motive, nothing less than the miraculous Operation of God's powerful Spirit can ever extricate you from this Maze of ignorant Devotion, which becomes inaccessible by its many ambagious Deflexions from the plain Path of Truth.

But as there is another Party equally desirous of introducing a spurious Pretender to the supreme Power in this Kingdom, though professed Friends of the Protestant Religion, I shall direct the following distinct Persuasive to them — The Motives inducing you to forward this Innovation cannot be the Exercise of your Religion, which is the established Profession of this Nation; and was the Chevalier once our Sovereign, he would soon re-introduce that Religion, which would no longer permit you to profess Protestantism. Nor can you expect that your temporal Concerns will be at all benefited by such a Revolution; for you now enjoy, undisturb'd, whatever you can lay a just Claim

to ; you have the same Privileges and Immunities with the most loyal *Briton* ; you are admitted to the same Offices of Trust and Dignity, upon giving the necessary Securities of your executing them faithfully, and to the Advantage of your Country ; and how sanguine must your Tempers be, could you expect any Power to invest you with an Honour, or Office, which you declare you'll turn, on the first Opportunity, to the Subversion, undermining, and Ruin of that Power ? Nor can you reasonably expect, that this Revolution would gain you an Admission to those Offices which you cannot now qualify yourselves for, by taking the Oaths to our present Government : For if King *James II.* upon his Return into *Ireland*, after his Abdication, seldom commissioned any *English* Papists to a Place of Importance, thinking himself secure of none but the *Irish*, in what a Manner will the present Pretender behave, who has seldom familiarized himself with any *Englishmen*, but given himself up entirely to the Conversation of the *Scotch* and *Irish* fugitive Outlaws, and who now expects such important Succours from *France* ? Can you, who have only given a few verbal Indications of your Affection to him, expect an equal Share in his Favours with them who have follow'd his Fortune to so many different Places, who have ventured their Estates, Lives, and Families, frequently in his Behalf ? Or do you think that he, who is to be thus powerfully assisted by the *French*, will not, in Return, confer the largest Revenues, and greatest Honours, upon the Favourites of the King of *France* ? Or should he ever attempt to do otherwise, would not his affronted Neighbour Sovereign sternly reprimand him, and put him in Mind of the Conditions on which he was advanced to the *English* Throne ? And though a few of you might possibly then arrive at some Offices, for which you will not

now

now qualify yourselves, yet this slender Advantage could not balance the great Losses you would then sustain. For you, as well as others, must resign whatever Parts of your Estates have ever been devoted to religious Uses. Nor would you be exempt from the burthensome Taxes, to which the *English* of all Conditions and Parties must then contribute, for the Payment of those long Arrears which are due to *France, Spain, and Rome* (for the Maintenance of a Royal Court above fifty Years) and afterwards for the Support of numerous swarms of clerical Drones, besides the Chevalier's *French* Friends, and a vast Body of supernumerary standing Forces, which would be necessary for the Security and Continuation of an Oppressive and tyrannous Government, settled by Violence and Arms, and not the free and sincere Choice of the People's Delegates.

Nothing then can induce you to join the Chevalier, but this — “ That being convinc'd of the
 “ Fidelity of those, who had the Management of
 “ Affairs, during the Reign of the late K. *James II.*
 “ you believe and must acknowledge the Pretender
 “ to be his Son ; and thinking this Kingdom the un-
 “ alienable Right of that Family, you judge it your
 “ Duty by all Means to accelerate his Accession to
 “ this Throne.” Admitting for the present the Pretender to be K. *James II.*'s Son, let us consider what an extravagant and Romantic Scene of wild Absurdities the Principle of Hereditary Right leads to. King *James II.* undeniably violated the Liberties of his Subjects Consciences ; but he being the nearest legal Descendant from the regal Line, and consequently our lawful Prince, all his Injuries were quietly to be born, and no other Remedy was applicable but that of ardent Prayers to Heaven, for our Sovereign's Reformation. But if it should be inconsistent with the Schemes of Providence, by an irresistible

ble Operation to change a Prince's Resolutions, and render him the Protector of his Subjects Consciences, this which is the only Remedy left is altogether useless, and we must no way oppose his tyrannical Schemes, till at length he finds Means to put in Execution his most pernicious Projects. When this is once accomplish'd, it will be a notorious Act of Disloyalty and Rebellion, to dare to profess any Sentiments contrary to the declar'd Orthodoxy of our Sovereign; tho' that which is thus intruded upon us as the only Creed to be adher'd to, the only Belief that can procure our Salvation, appears to us the most unintelligible, irrational, and inhuman Scheme in Nature. Tho' we can never conceive the minuteest Part of it, we must recommend ourselves to the Approbation of God, by implicitly professing whatever his Sacred Vicegerent shall declare to be the Doctrine of the Gospel. God has erected an impartial Tribunal within every Breast, and given it a Power to ratify its Sentences with the most affecting Sanctions, yet as often as the more divine Authority of the public Magistrate contradicts its Decrees, the Decisions of this internal Judge are no longer Obligatory; which, tho' a just Inference from the above Jacobite Principle, is most evidently false, since it undeniably inflicts dread Tortures on all who disobey its Dictates, notwithstanding they may be commanded to such a Disobedience by their respective Sovereigns. And can we imagine, that whilst we feel the Punishments consequent on the Transgression of any Law most sensibly, that Law itself is in Fact abrogated and null? Or that he who stiles himself the God of Order, and not of Confusion, hath constituted two Vicegerents, each indispensibly to be oblig'd, notwithstanding their Injunctions are often diametrically opposite? Certainly, if Passive-obedience and Non-resistance were, by the original Scheme of the Creator,

Creator, due to all Persons who, by lineal Descent, ascribed to themselves an hereditary and unalienable Right to any Crown, the Author of Nature acted most cruelly contrary to the Interest of Mankind, in that he did not give every one, whose Birth render'd him the sovereign Master of his Country, a Heart incapable of any Deviation to Vice, a Mind so generous as to consult no private Interest, and a Judgment never to be deceiv'd; or else that he did not divest those, whom he primarily intended for Slaves, of those reasoning Powers which inspire with Sentiments of Generosity, Heroism, and Hatred of oppressive Tyrants; that he did not imprint in their Minds an abject Sense of the superior Capacities of their destin'd Rulers, and give them an Instinct from which they might never swerve, but go on in one continued mechanical Progress, conformable to the Will of those, whom a kinder Fortune had elevated to the supreme Power.

But this is not the divine Constitution of Things. Nor is there in Reality any Distinction between regal and subject Families, save that the former, being pamper'd with all the splendid Affluence of an unacquired Fortune, are frequently most deprav'd, and sometimes sink into Monsters, more horrid than one would think the human Race could ever produce? Or, however, the merciful and wise Disposer of Things should not have given us a positive Revelation of his Will, save of this one grand Point: For what can be the Consequences of such an Information, as often as the Civil Power publishes any Injunctions contrary to it, but remediless Horrors in the Subjects Breast; who, whilst he obeys his Prince, has the dread Punishment of eternal Flames in View? Such are the Consequences of this Notion, which is however as chimerical and groundless, as it is wicked: For there is not one Text, in the Scriptures which we profess to believe, that can be wrested,

wrested, consistently with Reason and the Language of those holy Writings, into this Sense. And if we compare one Part of them with another, we shall find from the History of the *Israelite* Kings, that God never enacted any Law, which could oblige us to adhere to any Person as our King, because he was the undoubted Descendant of King *James II.* For on what Account was *Mephibosheth* never suffer'd to ascend his Grandfather's Throne? Why did the ten Tribes revolt from *Rehoboam*, which God appears to have approv'd? Why was *Jebu* commission'd by God to cut off and succeed *Jehoram* the Son of *Abab*? Or why was *Uzziab* depos'd from the Government upon being smitten with a Leprosy? Was not the Reason of all these Revolutions the Male-administration, or some vicious Inclination in the Princes who thus lost their Rights? As is farther evident, because no good Prince was ever treated thus by the Direction or Approbation of God. And why may not we then resist, and proceed even to the Deposition of a tyrannical Prince, who strives to oppress us, and to rob us of the most distinguishing Prerogatives of the human Species? No Reply can be made to this Query, except this, "That we have no divine Warrant authorizing us to do so." We have not, it is true, an express Mandate from Heaven on every such Occasion; nor can we reasonably expect such an Interposition: The Sacred History abounds with Examples, well adapted for the Imitation of Nations in such Circumstances; and Reason alone, were it not sophisticated by unmanly Prepossessions, would soon determine our Conduct in all such Cases.

But should we enquire whence King *James* deriv'd his unalienable Sovereignty, we should be told, from his Brother. And from whence he? From their common Father. But whence descended the Father's Right? From *Henry VII.* But whence did the last derive

derive his Right ? Was his Title undoubted ? So dubious it was, that the whole Nation had sworn Allegiance to another Person ; and after all, his Claim must be trac'd to the Conquest or Usurpation of some of his Ancestors. And can the vaunted Plea of *Jure Divino* be reduc'd to this ? Have the *Stewarts* so very remote and obscure a Title, and that founded merely upon Conquest or Violence ; and is it true, that if they were really descended from the most ancient of the *British* Monarchs, the first of this Line was exalted by no divine Commission, but introduc'd himself by Violence, perhaps, and unjust Usurpation ? Fair and specious Plea ! The divine Being has never nominated any Person to the Administration of these Kingdoms ; but has, if his Dispensations signify his Approbation or Disapprobation, frequently been averse to the Successions of the preceding Kings ; has confounded the Order, and obscur'd the Titles of the former Possessors of the Throne ; and now, after all, the Descendants from so broken and abrupt a Series are sacred, and unaccountable for any Crimes, by a divine Right, which those whose Ancestors God himself had nominated Kings of the *Jews*, by many Instances, appear never to have been. And is then the mere permissive Suffrage stronger and more Obligatory than the express Nomination ? All the Passages of Scripture relating to the Obedience due to Sovereigns may be interpreted in this Sense, “ That as long as a Government, which
 “ hath any Pretence to the Power it executes, exercises that Power to the Advantage of the whole
 “ Community, so long every Member of that Society
 “ is obliged to obey its Injunctions, and the whole
 “ People to concur with it in promoting the common
 “ Good : But that, whenever such a Government
 “ contrives, and endeavours to execute Schemes Tyrannical and inconsistent with human Liberty, all
 “ Obligations

“ Obligations to obey it immediately vanish, and it
 “ becomes lawful, yea the Duty of every one, to
 “ assist in shaking off the Yoke of that Power, be it
 “ a single Person, or a Faction of Men conspiring
 “ thus to subvert the Rights of Mankind : Nor
 “ could the Dispensations and Commands of God
 “ appear consistent, but would be capricious and con-
 “ trary to Reason, had he enjoyn’d any Obedience to
 “ oppressive Magistrates.”

And is then this one Notion, of indefeasible
 Right, which hath scarce one reasonable Argu-
 ment to defend itself with, while many Things
 may be brought in Opposition to it, even tho’ the
 Pretender were the undoubted Son of *James II.* a
 Motive strong enough to induce you to violate all the
 strong Ties of Justice, public Spirit, and Self-love,
 by rendering these flourishing Kingdoms, now happy
 in a Government, than which never one more mild,
 never one more friendly to Liberty was known,
 by rendering this Island, I say, a horrid Scene of
 Blood and general Devastation, and exposing your-
 selves to the worst of Ruins, should you not suc-
 ceed ; especially considering that if you do succeed,
 you will be depriv’d of the Profession of your Re-
 ligion, and greatly prejudic’d in your temporal
 Affairs ? Or if it be his Right, is it not his sole
 Business to recover it ? Are you under any Obliga-
 tion to expose yourselves to the Consequences of
 the execrable Machinations which must be pre-
 vious to his gaining this Throne. Is it not suf-
 ficient, that you are not the personal Hinderers of
 his attaining his Rights, that you wish him well,
 and would readily receive him, if the Bulk of the
 Nation would ?

And now distinguishing those who are well
 affected to his Majesty, most of whom I presume
 entertain an hearty Esteem for the Protestant Reli-
 gion, and the Liberty depending on it, into three
 Classes, First, The Populace, consisting of the
 meanest

meanest Members of the *British* Society : Secondly, Tradesmen and Merchants of a superior Degree, the inferior Officers and Gentry : And thirdly, The Nobility, and those whom his Majesty has honour'd with the highest Offices in the Nation. I shall expostulate with them, severally, in the following Manner.

First, with the Populace, Can you conclude, that because the authoritative Power is not vested in you, you have therefore no Concern in the Continuation or Alteration of the Government ? As it is impossible for every Member of a Society to enjoy the administrative Power, and since no Change can probably be made by which the good of the Nation may be advanc'd, you ought to acquiesce in the present Government. At this Time your Representatives have a large Share in the enacting Power, which, were the threaten'd Revolution once effected, they would probably no longer enjoy. But can any true *Briton* neglect, when his Country is threatened, because he is not commission'd to any great Office, to remedy the Danger ? This were a Temper mercenary indeed, unlike to your generous Ancestors, and in Truth to that Disposition which seems now to reign among you. Most happily you appear very zealous for the Preservation of our present glorious Constitution ; and for this you have very just Reason ; as the common Maxim, that the lower Rank of People loses little in a Change of Government, is evidently false in the present Case : For even the meanest *Englishman*, if he has any Sense of his Dignity, as a human Creature, and the *momentous* Rewards of a future everlasting Life, must upon such a Change of Government lose every Thing the World affords agreeable and pleasing, or be subject to the acutest Horrors of consciencial Stings. Would the Insignificancy of the Populace, procure

them that Liberty of Conscience, which would not be permitted to our Grandees, and exempt them from the artful Cruelties of enrag'd Priests? Would they not soon be depress'd, in the savage Pitch of Ignorance and superstitious Devotion which is visible in the Plebeians of all Popish Countries? Or if you judge these to be Things of little Importance, are you desirous to exchange the secure Possession of whatever you have acquir'd by honest Industry, for the inevitable Necessity of surrendering all you value to the rapacious Swarms of Mendicants, and the other idle Clergy, who live on the common Spoils? Can you, who at present pay an overtaled Tax with so much Reluctance, look with Pleasure on the Prospect of that Day, when you shall be compell'd to contribute to the extortionate Impositions of Spiritual Courts, besides your Quota's of the public National Charges? Or can you, who express so much Ardour to revenge every the most trivial Affront by that Law which secures you from all insolent Abuses, can you feed with Pleasure, on the hopeful Expectation of that Day, when you must humbly prostrate yourselves before a hundred inferior domineering Officers; each of which would treat you with Insolence and Contempt, greater than you would treat a Beast with? Can you wish for that Day, when an arbitrary Monarch shall haughtily throw your Lives away, by thousands at a Time, whilst you must own him your Benefactor, the constant and paternally tender Preserver of your Rights, and the Author of your Happiness, whilst you must address him with all the apish Fawnings which the most servile and debased Mind can practise, or the most arrogant of Mortals receive? Add to this, that should you express the utmost Zeal for the Pretender's Cause, he may pretend Reason to suspect the Truth of it; on which Account probably,

bably, at his Arrival to the *English* Throne, many of you may fall a Victim to that Anger, which must be excited to an uncommon Fierceness, by what will then be stil'd the long Rebellion. Or should he be averse to such Cruelties, his Followers would doubtless commit many Outrages, intolerable Outrages, on both your Lives and Fortunes, which none would have Power to prevent or punish. Put then in one Scale, all the rueful and innumerable Calamities consequent on the long Contest which must ensue for this Crown and the Chevaliers Establishment here, *viz.* the Re-introduction of Popery, Confiscations, Imprisonments, Tortures, Death for the Sake of Religion, the supreme Power here of the grand Monarch, who would then be much advanc'd in his Progress towards an universal Empire, and the intolerable Licentiousness and Extortion with which his Officers would be impower'd to act; and in another put ——— the Security of Life and Property, all the Liberties which can be desir'd, the Opportunities you have of procuring Satisfaction from every one that injures you, Immunity from all Taxes, but what are necessary for the Preservation of your Country, and a Prospect of daily increasing Happiness, which are the peculiar Advantages of our present Government; and if the latter do not preponderate in your Judgments, you are not to be treated as the Descendants of those glorious Men who took every Opportunity to exert themselves in the Defence of Liberty, and to shake off the Yoke of enslaving Tyrants; you are not to be esteem'd of that Nation, which, at the late Revolution, shew'd an unanimous Spirit in dethroning a despotic arbitrary Prince; and much less are you to be deemed Votaries of that pacific Religion which enjoins Obedience to all Princes, who have not signaliz'd themselves by unjust Infringements on their Subjects Privileges. I now

I now apply myself to the second Class. And can you, Gentlemen, desire such a Revolution as *France* is attempting? Do you hope ever to find a more studious Protector of your Rights of Commerce and Traffic; you, I say, who have engaged your Sovereign in a War, probably the first Cause of the present Commotion? Can you, who enjoy Offices under him, retaliate those Tokens of his Favour, by basely endeavouring to give up his most Sacred Rights to his inveterate Enemies? Can you, consistently with your Honour, break the solemn Oaths of Allegiance with which you have bound yourselves to continue faithful to him? Or will there ever be a Prince under whom your Estates will be more secure, or charg'd with Taxes less in Proportion to the public Necessities? These are Ties peculiar to your Condition, these are Inducements which ought to be as prevalent with you as those other Considerations which make it the Duty of every *Englishman* to oppose this daring Attack, this violent Attempt on our native Country. You as well as others would be subjected to an uncontrollable Tyranny, both Temporal and Spiritual; you, as well as the meaner and nobler, must expect to feel the dire Calamities of a Civil War: But what Losses must you suffer in your Trade, which the Chevalier has perhaps already made over to your Neighbours the *French*? In what Security would your Estates be, which have already so many Expectants? And who of you would any longer possess those Offices to which others are perhaps already commission'd, who will mark you out as the first Victims of their Rage, that so they may with some Pretence invade what you now enjoy. Thus strongly doth your Interest press you to defend our present Government.

I shall finally address myself to the Nobility of *England*, and those who now enjoy the highest Places

Places of Trust and Dignity. — And who are under such peculiar Obligations to defend our present Constitution, as you, my Lords? The Ties of Oaths and Gratitude, your Interest temporal and eternal, your Honour and Reputation, all lead you to such a Conduct. Though the Pretender, had he once accomplish'd his Designs, might suffer such of you as received him readily, to retain your honorary Titles, you must all resign your Offices, and large Parts of your Estates, which have been long promised to such as have done him better Service than you. And *France*, which will then have the supreme Management, will take every Opportunity of depressing you, and lessening your Influence; so that in Time, You, the once honour'd Nobility of this Nation, may dwindle into Contempt and Infamy. And as a Profession of the Protestant Religion will then be Treason, an Accusation sufficient to deprive you of your Lives and Fortunes will be at any Time easily found, unless you basely disown your present Religion. Will it not then argue the most inconsiderate Rashness, should you, by permitting the Pretender in any Method to gain this Crown, expose yourselves to the dread Consequences of his Anger, who will judge your enjoying any Office or Honour, under our present gracious Sovereign, an Evidence sufficient to condemn you, as Traitors, to the highest Ignominy, to Prison, to Exile, to Death?

Permit me now to recapitulate the Sum of all, to the two Parties in general. — And 1st, you Gentlemen of the disaffected Party will act contrary to your Interest of every Kind, if you engage in the Chevalier's wicked Cause. You, who are Protestants, have no one Motive to such a Conduct, save the imaginary Notion of *Jure divino*, which has frequently, and strongly, been prov'd absurd and unscriptural. You, of the Popish Com-
munion,

munion, have not much Reason to desire such a Change. You have, or at least might have had, the free Exercise of your Religion, in all the Points of it which are necessary, in your Belief, to Salvation. And can you be willing, contrary to all the Glowings of Humanity, to involve your Country in all the horrid Calamities of intestine Discord, merely to advance that Grandeur and Splendor of your Priests, which must cost you and your Country so dear. However, if you of the Non-juring Class were so fond of your *Jure divino* as to be willing to devote your Religion and Temporals to an arbitrary and capricious Monarch; and you, Catholics, were willing to sacrifice your Temporals for the Re-introduction of your Religion here, were there any Probability of this; do not, both of you, sport away your Lives, and entail Misery on your Posterity, by engaging in the Cause of a Person who is already retreating in the most precipitate Confusion, and who has now no Hopes of Success but from the powerful Assistance of a neighbouring perfidious Prince. And can you in concert with *France* endeavour to dethrone a Monarch whose whole Reign has been one continued Scene of Clemency? If you can, you are lost to Humanity, and much more to Religion.

For you, Gentlemen, who are well-affected to his Majesty, consider, that it is your Interest to lose even your Lives rather than submit to the Yoke of your cruel and now enraged Invaders. Consider the inestimable Happiness you now enjoy, and the dismal Prospect the Government of a Popish Pretender presents you with. Consider, that by your Oaths, and Obligations to Gratitude, you are bound to resist all the traiterous Subjects and foreign Enemies of your Sovereign, who has ever so graciously protected you and all your Liberties. Consider, that if you now un-

manfully

manfully suffer the Invaders of your Country to gain their Ends, you will in all Probability fasten a Yoke of Slavery, the most abject Slavery, on all your Posterity, sunk into the most brutal Savageness. Again reflect, that whatever some may fancifully imagine, should the Pretender succeed, *English* Protestants would be in a much worse State than ever they were, as many Protestant Countries which served our Fathers in the bloody Reign of Queen *Mary* for Refuges, are now re-subjected to the Yoke of Popery; yea, that we have much worse to expect at present, than in the Years 1689, and 1715, our Adversaries being now irritated by a much longer Disappointment; and probably the Protestant Interest would receive such a Blow, as that in a little Time, by the Combination of the Popish Powers, without a miraculous Interposition, it might be quite extinguished. Look up then with a kind of tacit Veneration on those brave Heroes, who faced all Opposition, and manfully bore both Tortures and Death. Look upon your pious Ancestors, patiently, chearfully, triumphantly undergoing the acutest Tortures which the Wit of Men and Devils could invent, and see whether you can find in your Hearts one Motive inclining you their Sons basely to avoid and dread Death in Battle, or by the Hands of the Executioner, which never terrified their intrepid Souls from the Profession of their Faith, which they thought an Honour, an Happiness, which with a constant Zeal for God they coveted, which with Resignation to his providential Dispensations they pursued, and which with Demonstrations of the utmost Alacrity they obtained.

Lastly consider, that besides all these Inducements, you are indispensably bound, as Christians, to resist these traiterous Enemies to all that is just and good; and should you unmanfully permit
 E their

their execrable Machinations ever to succeed thro' your Negligence, you expose yourselves to the dire Punishments due to a thousand complicated Crimes, each of whose damnative Stings were capable of rendering you for ever intensely miserable, each of which might sink you into the lowest Abyss of endless infernal Perdition.

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